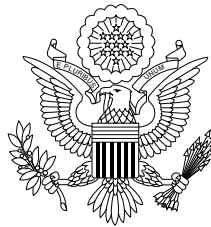


Carl Levin

U.S. SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN

TRIBUTES

IN THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES





Carl Levin

Courtesy U.S. Senate Historical Office

Tributes
Delivered in Congress

Carl Levin
United States Senator
1979–2015



*Compiled under the direction
of the
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BIOGRAPHY

In an editorial about CARL LEVIN, the Detroit News wrote, “He has been above reproach personally and has stuck to his principles, even when they were unpopular. Principled leadership, no matter what political ideology it comes from, is sorely needed in Washington.”

Time magazine named CARL LEVIN one of “America’s 10 Best Senators,” noting that “the Michigan Democrat has gained respect from both parties for his attention to detail and deep knowledge of policy.”

CARL LEVIN worked to strengthen Michigan’s industrial economy. Senator LEVIN proposed the American Manufacturing Initiative to ensure that our government aggressively fought for manufacturing in America so our manufacturers and workers could compete globally on a level playing field.

As a cochair of the Senate Auto Caucus and the Senate Auto Parts Task Force, Senator LEVIN was one of the most insistent voices in Washington calling for strong action to open the world’s markets to American goods. Senator LEVIN was a longtime advocate of programs that provide for joint government-industry partnerships in development of advanced vehicle technologies. These efforts led to the growth of the Army’s National Automotive Center in Warren, MI, which has played an important role in developing advanced technologies for military use, often in conjunction with the private sector.

As cochair of the Senate Great Lakes Task Force, CARL LEVIN fought to protect the environmental treasures of “the Great Lakes State,” an irreplaceable natural resource for Michigan and the country. In 1990, Senator LEVIN authored the Great Lakes Critical Programs Act to create new standards of environmental protection for Great Lakes waters. Senator LEVIN also helped win passage of the Great Lakes Legacy Program in 2002 to clean up contaminated sediments, and he worked to secure funding to deal with foreign aquatic invasive species including zebra mussels, milfoil and Asian carp. A strong advocate for the creation of the Thunder Bay National Marine Sanctuary, CARL LEVIN obtained significant funding for it and introduced legislation in 2009

to expand the boundaries of the sanctuary to more than eight times its current size. The expansion would help preserve “Shipwreck Alley” for divers and historians, where dozens of ships sank in the waters of Lake Huron.

CARL LEVIN was the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, where he earned a reputation as a strong supporter of our national defense, a tireless advocate on behalf of our service men and women, and an effective fighter against wasteful government spending.

Senator LEVIN championed efforts to reduce the threats to our Nation and the world from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the threats posed by terrorism. He supported the efforts of the military services to transform their forces, technology, and tactics to meet these threats. He was an active supporter of improving U.S. security by cooperative threat reduction, including arms control agreements that reduce weapons of mass destruction, and fought for efforts designed to reduce the threat of proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons.

Senator LEVIN opposed the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 and authored several bipartisan proposals aimed at changing U.S. policy in Iraq. While Americans have differing opinions about our policy in Iraq, there is broad support of our brave men and women in uniform. Senator LEVIN spearheaded the successful effort to pass the Dignified Treatment of Wounded Warriors Act, a historic reform to improve the way we provide medical care and ongoing support for our troops and our veterans, enacted in early 2008.

In 2007, Senator LEVIN pushed to secure passage of the Acquisition Improvement and Accountability Act, the most far-reaching acquisition reform measure approved by Congress in more than a decade. The act requires, for the first time, that private security contractors working in a war zone must comply with Defense Department regulations and directives issued by our military commanders. The act also establishes a new acquisition workforce fund to hire the employees needed to manage defense contracts properly. These provisions will go a long way toward addressing contracting waste, fraud, and abuse.

In 2009, Senator LEVIN secured passage of the Levin-McCain Weapon Systems Acquisition Reform Act, to fix major problems with the way the Department of Defense buys major weapons systems. The act establishes a new, independent director of cost assessment to ensure that senior Pentagon managers have unbiased data to analyze project

costs and cost projections. It also includes strengthening assessments of technologies that are under development and requiring the Department of Defense to conduct preliminary design reviews in advance of approving new acquisition programs.

The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute awarded Senator CARL LEVIN its 2007 Four Freedoms Medal for his bipartisan efforts to reassert the role of the U.S. Senate in critical issues of foreign and military policy and for his long-time service to the country. The award recognizes CARL LEVIN as:

a leader dedicated to making government more effective, who holds himself and his colleagues to high ethical standards and insists that these same standards must apply to all facets of our society, both public and private; a leader whose efforts to strengthen America's armed forces have helped make the United States Military the finest fighting force in the world.

The National Guard Association of the United States presented Senator LEVIN with its 2004 "Harry S. Truman Award" for distinguished service in support of national defense. The award cited LEVIN's "long-standing, diligent and impassioned commitment on the readiness, morale and welfare of our military forces, their families and the modernization of our armed forces" that has had an "unparalleled and direct positive impact to the defense capabilities of the National Guard." In January 2003, the Secretary of the Navy cited LEVIN's "exceptional service to the Navy and Marine Corps" in presenting him its "Distinguished Public Service Award," the highest award given to a civilian.

In July 2007, the President of Poland, Lech Kaczynski, presented Senator LEVIN with the Commander's Cross with the Star of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland. Instituted by Parliament in 1974, the award is conferred on foreigners and Polish residents abroad for service rendered to Poland.

As chairman of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, the premier investigating subcommittee in the Senate, Senator LEVIN focused on issues that impact the wallets of most Americans, including Wall Street and the financial crisis, unfair credit card practices, and sky-high oil and natural gas prices.

In April 2010, Senator LEVIN chaired four hearings looking at the causes and consequences of the financial crisis. The final hearing examined the role investment banks, specifically Goldman Sachs, played in causing the financial crisis. The hearings informed the debate on financial reform legis-

lation passed by Congress and signed into law by the President.

CARL LEVIN chaired numerous hearings delving into abusive credit card industry practices that help keep families mired in debt. The effort culminated in the 2009 enactment of the Credit Card Accountability, Responsibility and Disclosure Act or Credit CARD Act, which bans unfair practices by credit card companies including preventing credit card companies from retroactively raising interest rates on people who play by the rules, forcing banks to restore a lower interest rate for late payers who make 6 months of ontime payments, and prohibiting the charging of interest on debt that is paid on time.

Another recent investigation found that excessive speculation in oil and natural gas markets resulted in higher prices for consumers. Senator LEVIN introduced the “Close the Enron Loophole Act” to put a cop on the beat to police prices in U.S. energy markets that, due to Enron and others, are now largely unregulated. Senator LEVIN’s leadership enabled Senate passage of an amendment in late 2007 to close the Enron loophole and its enactment into law in May 2008.

In 2002, CARL LEVIN led Congress’ most indepth examination into the collapse of Enron. His investigation exposed how Enron used deceptive accounting and tax transactions to report better financial results than the company actually experienced. The subcommittee’s investigative work contributed to the accounting and corporate reforms enacted in the Sarbanes-Oxley Act in July 2002. In 2002, LEVIN began a 3-year investigation into the mass marketing of abusive tax shelters by KPMG and other professional firms, which was cited by the Washington Post as “a path-breaking inquiry . . . that served as a road map for prosecutors.” CARL LEVIN’s bipartisan bill to end the use of tax havens will end some of the worst abuses of our tax laws by companies and individuals who avoid paying their U.S. taxes by using places such as the Cayman Islands to create sham transactions and shell corporations.

Under CARL LEVIN’s leadership, the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations conducted a comprehensive money laundering investigation, which led to the enactment of legislation to detect and stop money laundering and terrorist financing.

Senator LEVIN was also a member of the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee and an ex officio member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

CARL LEVIN worked to expand educational opportunities for all Americans so our Nation could remain strong and productive. He fought for increased funding for the Head Start Preschool Program, Title I for educationally disadvantaged students, and Pell grants and loans for college and vocational school students. Senator LEVIN was a strong advocate for the effective use of technology in K–12 schools and helped create the Consortium for Outstanding Achievement in Teaching with Technology, a groundbreaking Michigan partnership helping teachers master technology skills. He was an enthusiastic supporter of school to work programs, which have created a public-private partnership to prepare students for the demands of the modern workplace. He won critical Federal support for the Focus: HOPE Center for Advanced Technology, a world-class manufacturing training facility in Detroit.

Addiction to illegal drugs continues to plague our society. Senator LEVIN authored a provision in the Drug Abuse and Treatment Act of 2000 to enable qualified physicians to prescribe and dispense from their private offices—rather than centralized clinics—revolutionary, new antiaddiction medications such as buprenorphine that suppress the craving for heroin.

CARL LEVIN was born in 1934 in Detroit, where he graduated from Central High School. In 1956, he graduated with honors from Swarthmore College and graduated from Harvard University Law School in 1959. He practiced and taught law in Michigan until 1964 when he was appointed an assistant attorney general of Michigan and the first general counsel for the Michigan Civil Rights Commission. He then helped establish the Detroit Public Defender’s Office and led the appellate division of that office, which has become the State Appellate Defender’s Office.

He won election to the Detroit City Council in 1969, becoming its president in 1973 by winning the most votes city-wide. In 1978, he won an upset victory over the number two Republican in the U.S. Senate. He was reelected in 1984, 1990, 1996, 2002, and 2008.

CARL LEVIN married Barbara Halpern in 1961. They have three daughters: Kate, Laura, and Erica, and six grandchildren. His brother Sander has served in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1983.

Farewell to the Senate

Friday, December 12, 2014

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, after 36 years as a Member of the U.S. Senate, this is likely my last opportunity to address its Members as colleagues, and to address the people of my State as constituents, and to thank them for placing their trust in me.

The highest honor any citizen of a democracy can receive is to be elected to represent his or her fellow Americans to be their fiduciary.

To the Senate staff, including the floor staff, the Capitol Police, and those throughout the Capitol complex who work so hard to keep things here moving, thank you for your service and support for us through the long days and nights.

To my staff, thank you for your strong loyalty to the people of Michigan, to our Nation, and to me. Thank you for believing in public service. I am immensely proud of what the men and women who have worked on my staff for the last 36 years have helped to accomplish.

My staff back in Michigan has helped make communities across our State safer and more prosperous. Countless times they have helped individual constituents resolve an issue, making a real difference in thousands of lives.

The Armed Services Committee and Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations—PSI—staffs have worked tirelessly through long hours and complex issues, sacrificing nights and weekends and vacations to help address the pressing issues of our Nation.

My personal office staff has been instrumental in addressing a breathtaking range of issues—from preserving our American auto industry, to making our tax system fairer, to protecting our irreplaceable Great Lakes, to making medicine available to fight addiction, and much more.

As to my mentor, my big brother Sandy, Congress is keeping the better half of “Team Levin,” as I retire to Michigan while Sandy remains in Congress.

To Barbara, my wife of 53 years, to our three daughters Kate, Laura, and Erica; to their husbands Howard, Daniel,

and Rick; and to our six grandchildren, Bess and Samantha, Mark, Noa, and Ben Levin, and Beatrice and Olivia Fernandez—thank you for your love and support, which has meant so much to me.

I have been asked many times if I am leaving the Senate out of frustration with gridlock. The answer is: No. My family and friends, and those of you with whom I serve, know how much I love the Senate and that I will love my work until the last day here, and that I will leave here with unabashed confidence in the Senate's ability to weather storms and to meet the Nation's needs.

I know first hand the challenges before this Senate. I believe one of the greatest is the need to meet the fundamental economic challenge of this era: the growing gap in our society between a fortunate few and the vast majority of Americans whose fortunes have stagnated or fallen.

While I believe that the economists who tell us this inequality is holding back economic growth are right, this isn't just about economic data. It is about our Nation's heart and soul. This growing gulf between a fortunate few and a struggling many is a threat to the dream that has animated this Nation since its founding, the dream that hard work leads to a better life for us and for our children.

To restore the connection between hard work and greater opportunity, I hope the next Congress will act on many fronts, strengthening education and worker training programs, making greater investments in infrastructure and research that foster growth. As I have said here many times, it should pay for these needed investments by closing egregious tax loopholes that serve no economic purpose, but enrich some of the wealthiest among us and our most profitable corporations.

Many foresee a continuation of polarization and partisanship in the Senate and say it is naive to suggest that the next Congress might come together, break out of gridlock, and accomplish great things. But I know the Senate can do better because I have seen it happen with my own eyes.

The Senate has indeed demonstrated, even in our own era, that bipartisanship is not extinct. The Senate Armed Services Committee has upheld a more than 50-year tradition of bipartisan cooperation to produce an annual Defense Authorization Act that advances the security of our Nation. I am grateful to the members of the U.S. military and their families for their selfless sense of duty. I am also grateful for the way they have inspired us, year after year, to come together

across lines of party and ideology to support them. They not only protect us, they unite us. Congress has come together over the years to make improvements in pay, benefits, and health care for the men and women of the military; to reform the way in which we buy the weapons they use to carry out their missions; to adopt policies to protect them from sexual assault; and to provide improved education benefits through a modern GI bill and reform the way in which we care for our wounded warriors. We are training and equipping the militaries of nations under assault by extremists and religious fanatics so that those nations can depend more on themselves for their own security and less on America's sons and daughters.

We have passed a defense authorization bill to accomplish these things each year for more than half a century by laying aside partisan differences for the common good. We have never allowed disagreements over policy to interfere with our duty to our troops and their families, and I am deeply grateful to the many ranking Republican partners I have been fortunate to work with in that endeavor: people such as John McCain and John Warner and Jim Inhofe.

John McCain, my great friend, who has demonstrated extraordinary courage in war and in this Senate, will take the gavel of the Armed Services Committee, and my trusted wingman and friend Jack Reed will become ranking member. At a pivotal moment for the Senate and for this Nation, the Armed Services Committee will be in strong hands.

I have seen first hand additional powerful evidence that the Senate can work together to meet the Nation's needs, and that is in the work of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations—PSI—which I have been privileged to chair for 10 years, working with Republican partners—and I use the word partners advisedly—such as Tom Coburn, John McCain, and Susan Collins. Our subcommittee has exposed the tax avoidance schemes of some of the most powerful corporations and wealthiest individuals. We have shined a light on abusive credit card practices. We have investigated wasteful and ineffective government programs. We have confronted market manipulators and exposed conflicts of interest, mortgage fraud, and reckless schemes by some of the most powerful banks, schemes aided by some of the largest accounting and law firms. We have demonstrated how those activities helped bring our economy to its knees, destroying jobs, reducing the value of our homes, and damaging our neighborhoods. The work of PSI has helped lead to reforms

that have strengthened our financial system and reduced credit card abuses.

The power of PSI lies in the indepth work of our staffs, and in the willingness to confront powerful and entrenched interests. Like the Senate Armed Services Committee, PSI is strengthened by a dedication to bipartisanship and a respect for the rights of the Senate minority. We have recognized the danger of using investigative power for partisan or political purposes, and we have ensured that our great staffs, majority and minority, participate together in every investigation.

Indeed it is protection of the minority that is the singular hallmark of the Senate. The majority cannot always have its way. The Senate is more than just a place where the hot tea is cooled in the deliberative saucer that President Washington famously spoke of. Protections for the minority make the Senate more than just a place to slow things down; those protections make it a place where we work things out. It is those protections that force compromise that is essential to unifying and governing our country. Making progress in the Senate requires solutions that while they may not provide everyone with everything they want, are broadly accepted as in the common interest. When compromise is thwarted by ideological rigidity or by abuse of the rights that our rules afford us, the Senate can become paralyzed, unable to achieve the lofty task that the Founders set forth before us.

Polarization is exacerbated by forces outside this Chamber. For instance, we seem to make news more often these days by our responses in the corridors outside this Chamber to reporters questioning us about the latest breaking story or rumor than we do by debating or legislating inside this Chamber. The viral nature of information and disinformation and the expectation that public officials will be immediately responsive to every news flash with but a few seconds to think through the implications or consequences or pros and cons has led too often to less thoughtful discourse, and that has helped drive rhetorical wedges between us.

The incoming Senate has an opportunity to restore a greater measure of bipartisan compromise by revisiting one of the most contentious issues we face, one that we struggled with at the beginning of this Congress; that is, the Senate rules.

I believe the excessive use of the filibuster to obstruct confirmation of President Obama's nominees was damaging to the Senate and to the Nation. Any President—Democratic or Republican—should have the ability to choose his or her

team. But the Senate majority eliminated obstructions to Presidential nominations through the use of the nuclear option, effectively accomplishing a rules change outside the rules, a method I could not support. In doing so, a precedent was established that the majority could effectively change the rules as it wished by overruling the Chair and the Parliamentarian. That precedent will not serve the country well in the future because it leaves the minority with no protection, diminishing the unique role of the Senate.

I hope the Senate next year considers reversing that precedent while simultaneously—and I emphasize simultaneously—amending the rules so as to assure the President's ability to fulfill his or her constitutional duties. Put simply, I believe the Senate should do the right thing in the right way. It should amend the Senate rules, as provided for in the rules, to adopt the substance of the changes we made last year. I know my good friend Senator Lamar Alexander, who was part of the bipartisan Group of Eight who worked closely and successfully together on this issue in 2012, has proposed something similar. Such action by the Senate next year would be a welcome victory for comity and for compromise, and it would I hope represent a step back from a precedent that leads to effective rules changes by simple majority. It would be a step toward a better functioning Senate.

No leader alone, no single Senator, neither party by itself, can determine the Senate's course, but together the Members of this body can move the Senate forward and in doing so help move forward the Nation we all love. I will enjoy reading about the Senate's progress in the years ahead as Barbara and I are sitting on a Lake Michigan beach or showing the world to our grandchildren.

I thank the Chair, I thank my dear friends, the leaders of this body, and I see my brother sitting here, and I am not allowed to refer to my family in the gallery, so I will not do that.

(Applause, Senators rising.)

TRIBUTES
TO
CARL LEVIN

Proceedings in the Senate

MONDAY, *December 8, 2014*

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I am very happy to be here today to talk about a couple of my friends—I should say the Senate’s friends. I have received a lot of gifts while I have been here. My colleagues, over the years, have given me things here in the Senate, but one gift stands out really strongly in my mind. On my desk, not far from here, I have this big painting—it is a very famous painting from the National Portrait Gallery of Mark Twain.

Mark Twain, I tell people, was born in Nevada, which is really true. Samuel Clemens wasn’t, but Mark Twain was. Orion Clemens was chosen as the Territorial Secretary of Nevada, and he told his younger brother Samuel: Come West and I will find you a job. Samuel had been fighting, which he didn’t like, in the Civil War, so he came West to join his brother. But his brother couldn’t find him a job, so Samuel Clemens bummed around for quite a while.

Without belaboring the story too long, the fact is, Mark Twain finally went up to Virginia City, which was booming at the time, and he went to the Territorial Enterprise newspaper and got a job as a reporter. This was a stunningly good and important start for his first writing that he had done. That is where he started his fame.

He would have stayed in Nevada longer, but someone challenged him to a duel for some of the things he wrote. So being the smart man he was, he didn’t want to duel so he left town, went to California, where he wrote two best-selling books, “The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County” and “*Roughing It*,” which was about his experience in bumming around Nevada until he found a job. These were best-sellers. These were great books.

The point of the story, though, is he went to Virginia City as Samuel Clemens and took the name Mark Twain. That is where the name came from.

This means a lot. It is a story I tell many times to people who come to my office. So CARL LEVIN, the wonderful, kind,

thoughtful man that he is, said, "Can I come and see you?" I said, "Sure." He brought to me, I guess it is, one of the rare double signatures of Samuel Clemens. There may be others, I just have never heard of one. This was done at a club in Hannibal, MO. The club's name was Labinnah—Hannibal spelled backward—and Mark Twain, in 1902, because of how famous he was, signed Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain, and wrote through the whole—he didn't want anybody else's name there. He wanted just his. So that is the gift he gave me.

That was so fitting. It fits my office perfectly, and it means a lot to me. CARL LEVIN brought with him this handwritten note: "I got this at an auction 10 yrs. ago not knowing why. It just dawned on me! Best in the New Year, CARL."

That was so nice of him to do that, and it is so hard to explain my appreciation, although I am trying to do that here by outlining what a wonderful human being CARL LEVIN is. What he did for me is an example of who CARL LEVIN is and how he thinks of people. He remembered the story I told him about Mark Twain, and he said, I am sure, to himself: I have this thing I got 10 years ago; I will give it to the Senator, my friend. So he gave me that plaque just because that is who he is.

He has always been attentive to the interests of the people of Michigan and our country. He is the longest serving Senator in the history of the State of Michigan—36 years. His legislative accomplishments are significant. I would say they are unmatched by almost anyone.

CARL LEVIN has stood his ground on controversial issues, and that is an understatement. He has fought to give average Americans a fair shot at what is going on in the world. He has always spoken with a clear voice, speaking for justice, equality, and fairness.

(Mr. MURPHY assumed the Chair.)

The Presiding Officer is a lawyer, I am a lawyer, but I am not sure I would be the best person, if you gave me a document, to look it over and make sure there was everything in that document you wanted in it, but CARL LEVIN is the person you want. I call him my nitpicker. He is so good at making sure everything is right; that every i is dotted, every t is crossed. Bring in CARL LEVIN if you have something and you really need someone to look at it and think it through.

CARL was a prominent lawyer, as was his dad, in Michigan. His dad served as a member of the Michigan Corrections Commission. After graduating from high school, his fa-

ther worked as an assemblyline worker. CARL LEVIN also knew how to work with his hands, but he followed in his father's footsteps by being an extremely hard worker. He attended college at Swarthmore and received a bachelor of arts degree there. Then he attended Harvard Law School and received his juris doctorate from Harvard.

He practiced in the private sector for awhile. He began his public career as the first general counsel for the Michigan Civil Rights Commission. He was elected in 1968 to the Detroit City Council, and he served there until 1977. He was elected to the Senate in 1978. CARL has functioned in this body as a levelheaded mediator who is guided by the protection of people in Michigan and our country.

In the past 36 years, CARL has cast over 12,000 votes. Some of those votes were hard, and not always popular, but they were CARL LEVIN votes. He did what he thought was right. When General Motors and Chrysler, in the last few years, faced a potential collapse, he recognized their bankruptcy would devastate the people of Michigan and have a detrimental effect—and that is a gross understatement—on this country. He pressed the incoming Obama administration to support the companies with loans. There was a hue and cry from people who opposed that, saying that is the wrong thing to do, LEVIN is wrong, Obama is wrong. But they were right. Look what it has done to energize, revitalize the State of Michigan, the whole Detroit metropolitan area and our country, with tens of thousands of new jobs as a result of his advocacy. As I said, it wasn't a popular position at the time, but CARL knew what was good for Michigan and good for our country, and he has been vindicated a hundred times over.

CARL has been chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations for 10 years. During that period of time, he has done some unusually important things for our country through this committee. Corporate money laundering—1999. He delved into that very deeply.

CARL LEVIN is not a headline hunter. CARL LEVIN is a substantive legislator. He could have held a lot more hearings, but he held them about every 6 months because he wanted his hearings to be CARL LEVIN hearings where, I repeat, every i was dotted, every t was crossed, and they were very powerful hearings.

Gasoline price manipulation, the Enron scandal—he delved into that very deeply.

Misconduct in the U.N. Oil-for-Food Program, tax haven banks, and offshore corporate tax evasion—he has talked

about that and talked about that. Very notable legislation as a result of the work he has done: Wall Street reform, the Consumer Protection Act, the Credit Card Act, the PATRIOT Act.

CARL LEVIN is a very fine legislator. He fought for Wall Street reform when others were afraid to do so, and he helped restore the broken financial system that held powerful institutions accountable for their actions. CARL's persistence earned him a slot in Time magazine's list of "America's 10 Best Senators." They called him the "Bird-Dogger."

Well, that is what he is. Put him on an issue and he will come back with the prey. He is very good. He never stops. He is a sharp-eyed overseer of U.S. defense policy. He has spent his entire career promoting defense policy that protects America's interests at home and abroad while safeguarding the men and women who serve.

CARL is the chair of the Senate Defense Committee. During the Nation's most trying of diplomatic times he has done a remarkable job to make sure the military is protected.

Even though he was chair of this big powerful committee—the Defense Committee—he felt so strongly and he foresaw what a lot of us didn't see. He saw the disaster that would accompany an invasion of Iraq. Accordingly, he talked about how bad it would be and voted against it. CARL LEVIN was right and a lot of us were wrong. I have said before on the Senate floor, of all the votes I have cast during the time I have been in government, the worst was voting for the Iraq war. But I did. CARL LEVIN did not.

But for all of his accomplishments in Congress, his greatest achievements reside in his home. CARL and his wife of over 50 years, Barbara, have three beautiful daughters: Kate, Laura, and Erica. Landra and Barbara are good friends. They are part of a book club. They have had a wonderful relationship over these many years. So as CARL retires from the Senate, I know he is going to cherish the time he is going to spend with his family.

But also CARL and I have had a long ongoing conversation. He and his brother Sander own about 100 acres. They have had it for a long time. CARL LEVIN is not a man of wealth, but he and his brother bought this 100 acres that has nothing on it but trees. He calls it his tree farm. He has shown me pictures of it. I have not seen it lately, but I have had for 15 or 20 years a hat he gave me—a green baseball-type cap—that says "tree farm" on it. I used to tell him I still have that cap. I still have that cap, CARL.

He will be missed here in Washington. He will be missed in the Senate by all of us. But he will be missed more by his older brother Sandy, who is the ranking member on the Ways and Means Committee in the House. They have served together in Congress for 32 years.

I have said this on the floor before, and I will say it again. I will remember CARL LEVIN for a lot of things, but when I was in the House, I came over to visit with him. I was thinking about running for the Senate. I said, "CARL, I came to the House with your brother Sandy." He looked up at me and said, "Sandy is not only my brother, he is my best friend." That speaks well of the person who CARL LEVIN is.

It has really been a privilege and an honor to serve with CARL. I will miss him so very much. I will miss having somebody to take the difficult issues to, to get his view as to what we should do, how we should handle it.

His voice will be missed here in the Senate. I congratulate him on his incomparable career in the Senate, and I wish him the very best.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I have only heard two of the comments of the majority leader—one for the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN] and one for the distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Rockefeller]. I have to say that both of those Senators deserve a lot of commendation for the service they have given to the Senate. They are both friends of mine.

Senator LEVIN has been a terrific, solid performer for the Democrats in the U.S. Senate, and he is an honest—totally honest—decent, honorable man. . . .

I will miss both of these brethren and wish them the very best in their lives as they go through the remaining years of their lives, and hopefully they and their families will have a wonderful time together.

TUESDAY, December 9, 2014

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I would like to take a few minutes to salute my colleagues who are departing the Senate at the end of this year with the conclusion of the 113th Congress: Mark Begich of Alaska, Saxby Chambliss of Georgia, Tom Coburn of Oklahoma, Kay Hagan of North Carolina, Tom Harkin of Iowa, Mike Johanns of Nebraska, Tim Johnson of South Dakota, Mary Landrieu of Louisiana, CARL

LEVIN of Michigan, Mark Pryor of Arkansas, Jay Rockefeller of West Virginia, Mark Udall of Colorado, and John Walsh of Montana.

They have all worked hard, ceaselessly giving their energy and considerable time and service to their constituents, to their home States and to our country. I want to thank them for their service and for their kindness to me over many years in so many cases. In particular, I want to say a few words about these colleagues. . . .

But let me say, especially, a few words about my dear friend CARL LEVIN. For 18 years, CARL LEVIN has either been chairman or ranking member of the Armed Services Committee. The U.S. military, the most powerful and professional force in the world, has in countless ways been shaped because CARL LEVIN repeatedly helped form a new common ground to move us forward as a nation for the benefit of our men and women in uniform and for the benefit of us all.

CARL and I have traveled many times together—Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Israel, Syria, Colombia. We were there to visit with commanders and local leaders, but especially to see our troops and to thank them. In the faces of those troops I saw the trust and respect they felt—some to their own surprise—when they met the chairman—the powerful chairman of the Armed Services Committee. He was there. He had traveled across the globe to listen to them, to work for them, and to thank them.

It was profoundly moving to me to see this—inspiring indeed. As the chairman of one of the other major committees, the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, he has pursued the powerful on behalf of the powerless, on behalf of the people. He has not only uncovered abuse, but he has sent a powerful message to an increasingly discouraged America that there is someone who will fight for them, who understands that everyone deserves a fair chance at a better future.

CARL LEVIN has been a friend, a role model. I will miss working with him.

Along with all of my other colleagues who are leaving us at the conclusion of the 113th Congress, let me thank them for their service, their dedication to improving the lives of Americans, and on a very personal level for their friendship. I wish them all well.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I wish to offer a few words of tribute to my departing colleague, Senator CARL LEVIN—a model of serious purpose, firm principle, and personal de-

gency, and whose example ought to inspire the service of new and returning Senators. We could not aspire to better service than what he has given our country.

CARL and I have served together on the Senate Armed Services Committee for the better part of three decades. He is my senior in this body by 8 years and has been my chairman for more than 10 years in total. It has been a privilege to serve under his very able, honorable, and fair leadership.

CARL and I sit on opposite sides of the aisle. The difference is quite obvious on any number of issues, but I hope it is also obvious how much I admire and respect my friend from Michigan.

We have had our moments on the committee. Debate there can get a little passionate from time to time, perhaps a little more passionate on my part than CARL's, but that, as all my colleagues would surely attest, is my problem, not CARL's. We are, however, both proud of the committee's tradition of bipartisan cooperation which CARL has worked diligently to preserve and strengthen. We both know how important that tradition is to faithfully discharging our responsibilities to help maintain the defense of this country and do right by the men and women of the U.S. Armed Forces. We both feel their example of selfless sacrifice would shame us if we let the committee descend into the partisan posturing that often makes it hard to get important work done in Congress.

When Members disagree in committee—often heatedly—it is because we feel passionately about whatever issue is in dispute. Even then we try to behave civilly and respectfully to each other, and we do not let our disagreements prevent us from completing the committee's business. CARL won't let us. That we have managed to keep that reputation in these contentious times is a tribute to CARL LEVIN. He has kept the committee focused on its duties and not on the next election or the latest rush-to-the-barricades partisan quarrel. He does so in a calm, measured, patient, and thoughtful manner. He seems, in fact, to be calmer and more patient the more heated our disagreements are. As members' emotions and temperatures rise, CARL's unperturbed composure and focus bring our attention back to the business at hand. You could safely say he and I have slightly different leadership styles. I am gentler and less confrontational. But CARL's style seems to work for him. It works well for the committee too, for the armed services, and for the country.

The committee has a heavy workload every year, and CARL manages to keep us all in harness and working together at

a good pace and with a constructive, results-oriented approach that is the envy of the dozen or so lesser committees of the Senate. Our principal responsibility is to produce the defense authorization bill—one of the most important and comprehensive pieces of legislation the Senate considers on an annual basis. The committee has never failed to report the bill, and the Senate has never failed to pass it. That is not an accomplishment that some of the lesser committees I just referred to can claim every year, and no one deserves more of the credit than CARL LEVIN.

When CARL LEVIN first joined the committee, he explained his reason for seeking the assignment this way:

I had never served, and I thought there was a big gap in terms of my background and, frankly, felt it was a way of providing service.

He might never have served in the military, but he has surely served the military well, and he has served the national interests our Armed Forces protect in an exemplary manner that the rest of us would be wise to emulate.

More recently, I have had the honor and privilege of serving alongside CARL on the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. His tireless efforts and steadfast dedication to exposing misconduct and abuse by financial institutions and government regulators have set a new standard for thoughtful and thorough congressional investigations.

Whether the topic was the 2008 financial crisis, Swiss banking secrecy, or JPMorgan's "London Whale" debacle, professionals in the industry and the public at large knew they could count on CARL LEVIN to get to the bottom of it with authoritative reports and hearings. CARL's tenacity in uncovering wrongdoing sparked significant changes in the financial sector.

I also commend CARL LEVIN on zealously and effectively pursuing his investigations in a way that has furthered the subcommittee's long-standing tradition of bipartisanship. While CARL LEVIN and I may have had our disagreements, we never let them get in the way of finding common ground where we could.

While CARL's retirement may come as a relief to some of those on Wall Street, his patience, thoughtfulness, and commitment to bipartisanship will be deeply missed on the subcommittee and in the Senate.

Indeed, from CARL LEVIN's long and distinguished service in the Senate, he has obtained the respect of his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. We all listen to him, and we listen closest to him on the occasions when we disagree with him.

That, in my view, is a great compliment from one Senator to another. It is a tribute paid to only the most respected Members.

Of course, the greatest compliment one Senator can pay another is to credit him or her as a person who keeps his or her word. That has become too rare in Washington but not so in my experiences with CARL LEVIN. He has never broken his word to me. He has never backed out of a deal, even when doing so would have been personally and politically advantageous. When we are in agreement on an issue, CARL usually argues more effectively than I can, and when we disagree, we usually find a way to settle our dispute without abandoning our responsibilities. CARL LEVIN deserves most of the credit for that too.

One of the great satisfactions in life is to fight for a common cause with someone you haven't always agreed with, someone whose background, views, and personality are different from yours. Yet you discover that despite your differences, you have always been on the same side on the big things.

Thank you, CARL, for the privilege and for your friendship and example. The committee is going to miss you, the Senate is going to miss you, the men and women of the U.S. Armed Forces are going to miss you, and I will miss you a lot.

WEDNESDAY, *December 10, 2014*

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, first, I have to say what a joy it is to work with Senator LEVIN. I know the public thinks that no Republicans like any Democrats and vice versa—at least those are the flames they try to fan—and that is not true.

I can only think of two issues on which Senator LEVIN and I disagreed with each other. He has been through 16 of the NDAAAs as either chairman or ranking member. I am sure that is some kind of a record. But to work with someone who you know will be totally honest with you even when you have a difference of opinion is really a joy. I hope we can be an example for some of the other committees that don't have that much joy when they are working on an issue.

The long history he has had here and the integrity he has expressed will be sorely missed, I have to say to my good friend Senator LEVIN. . . .

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, first let me thank Senator Inhofe for his friendship, most importantly, but also for the great partnership we have enjoyed. It has been a real pleasure working with the Senator from Oklahoma. I should perhaps also say we are confident our successors will carry on this tradition as well. Senator McCain will be the new chairman, and Senator Jack Reed the new ranking member. They will be carrying on this tradition that we have done everything we know how to do to maintain.

Mr. REED. Madam President, I rise today in support of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2015. I commend the work of my colleagues on the Armed Services Committee—especially the chairman, Senator CARL LEVIN of Michigan—on reaching an agreement with the House to complete this important legislation.

It is also appropriate that this legislation be named in honor of both Senator CARL LEVIN and Congressman Buck McKeon, the chairmen of their respective committees who this year are retiring after extraordinary service and dedication to the Nation and particularly to the men and women of the armed services. It is another reason why this bill is particularly special—because it represents the culmination of the work of these two extraordinary gentlemen. . . .

Mr. DURBIN. I have some tributes here for my colleagues who are retiring, leaving the Senate. It is a lengthy list of tributes. . . .

Last night it was my honor to salute CARL LEVIN of Michigan for his 36 years of service in the U.S. Senate. He has done so many things so well. As chairman of the Armed Services Committee, he has produced this contentious and challenging bill year after year, both as ranking member and as chairman. As chairman of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, he really raised that subcommittee to a new level. He tackled some of the most complex issues of our day, particularly when it came to corporate abuse. He spent the time to get the facts right. When he had a hearing, he made an extraordinary contribution to the public dialog about reforming our law and making this a better nation.

When I was first elected to the Senate, people back home said to me, “Well, now that you have been in the Senate a year or two, which Senators do you respect the most?”

I said then, and I will repeat it today, if I had a tough, important decision, one I was wrestling over, an issue or a vote, and I could only reach out to a couple of Senators at the time, one would be Paul Sarbanes of Maryland, now retired, and the other is CARL LEVIN. That is still a fact.

Long before CARL LEVIN was elected to the U.S. Senate it was clear that he had a gift for politics. Picture this—true story: At Central High School in Detroit, CARL LEVIN was elected class president. He won that race after, as he tells it, “running around with a piece of matzoh telling other students: ‘This is what happens to bread without LEVIN.’” How’s that for a slogan?

As much as I hate to think about it, soon we will have a U.S. Senate without LEVIN—for the first time in 36 years. Our only consolation is that CARL LEVIN leaves a legacy of good and important laws. He also leaves a powerful example of what can be achieved when we choose integrity over ideology, and our common good over confrontation.

A Jewish publication in Detroit wrote awhile back that CARL LEVIN and his brother, Congressman Sandy LEVIN, both deserve “Honorable Menschen Awards”—with the accent on “mensch”—for their historic service to our Nation. I agree wholeheartedly. Senator LEVIN’s keen intellect, honesty, and fair-mindedness—his decency and unfailing civility—have earned him the respect of Senators on both sides of the aisle.

Many years ago I was an intern for a great Senator, Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois. Every year now, the University of Illinois presents a “Paul Douglas Ethics in Government Award” to an elected leader who shares Senator Douglas’ deep commitment to social and economic justice and efficient government. The recipient of the “Paul Douglas Ethics in Government Award” in 2006 was Senator CARL LEVIN. Paul Douglas would have approved that choice heartily.

As was Paul Douglas, CARL LEVIN has been a foot soldier for justice. Paul Douglas was a leader in the effort to pass a strong Federal Civil Rights Act. In 1964, the year that law finally passed, CARL LEVIN was appointed the first general counsel for the Michigan Civil Rights Commission.

Paul Douglas believed in government and he hated government waste. He used to say: “You don’t have to be a wastrel to be a liberal.” CARL LEVIN reminds us that: “There are some things that only government can do, so we need government. But we don’t need an inefficient, wasteful, arrogant government.”

CARL LEVIN was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1978. Before that, he was active for 15 years in Detroit and Michigan State politics. He taught law before he entered politics. He also held some other interesting jobs—including driving a cab in Detroit and working on a DeSoto assemblyline.

He showed up in Washington in 1979 driving a 1974 Dodge Dart with a hole in the floorboard. He was still driving that same car to the Capitol 10 years later. That tells us something about CARL LEVIN's devotion to the U.S. auto industry, its workers, and unions.

When General Motors and Chrysler faced potential collapse in 2008, he pressed Congress and a new President to support the companies with billions of dollars in loans.

Those loans have since been repaid and Chrysler and GM are not only solvent, they are making a profit. The U.S. auto industry is in the midst of its fastest expansion since 1950.

CARL LEVIN is a champion as well of America's military, military families, and veterans. He has served on the Armed Services Committee since coming to the Senate 36 years ago. He is one of Congress' most respected voices on national security and military issues.

Some years back he used his power on the Armed Services Committee to question the procurement practices of the military. He asked: Why was the Pentagon spending thousands of dollars apiece for things like toilet seats and hammers? He said: We need more money for soldiers and less wasteful spending for contractors. With the world growing more volatile and complex and increasing pressure to reduce defense budgets, those are questions we must all be willing to ask.

As a ranking member and then chair of the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Senator LEVIN's piercing intellect and his patient mastery of complex issues helped, over and over, to expose and correct serious wrongdoing.

As PSI chairman in 2002, he led a probe of the activities of Enron Corporation; the investigation resulted in legislation to improve the accuracy and reliability of corporate disclosures.

From white collar crime, to money laundering, abusive tax shelters, and gasoline and crude oil price gouging, he has pursued the subjects of every investigation with nonpartisan vigor, seeking results, not spotlights.

The list of laws bearing his imprint is long and historic: The Competition in Contracting Act of 1984; Social Security Disability Benefits Reform, 1984; the Anti-Kickback Enforce-

ment Act, 1986; the Whistleblower Protection Act, 1989; the Ethics Reform Act in 1989; the Lobbying Disclosure Act in 1995—the first major lobbying reform in 50 years.

The list goes on. Senator LEVIN voted: To repeal “don’t ask, don’t tell”; to protect voting rights; and to limit the influence of private-interest money in elections.

He has voted to support American manufacturing—and stop giving tax breaks to corporations to ship American jobs overseas.

He supported my efforts to change bankruptcy laws to allow deserving homeowners to save their homes in foreclosures.

He voted to regulate tobacco as a drug—another issue that is personal for me.

I will always remember Senator LEVIN’s vote on the Iraq war resolution. For years before 9/11, he warned anyone who would listen that America was threatened by terrorism. When the horrific attacks came, he supported pursuing the attackers in Afghanistan.

A year later, he and I were among just 23 Senators to vote against the Iraq war. He voted no, even though he was then chair of the Armed Services Committee. That took extraordinary moral and political courage, and history has shown he was right.

CARL LEVIN is the longest serving Senator in Michigan history, surpassing another Senate legend, Arthur Vandenberg. As he proved long ago when he was elected president of his high school council, he is a natural-born politician. But like Senator Vandenberg, he is more than a politician; he is a statesman.

I will miss his presence in this Senate and I wish him, and his wife Barbara, all the best in the future.

Mr. COONS. . . . As I close, I would also like to thank those of our colleagues who will be leaving the Senate after the New Year.

It is an incredible privilege to work in this Chamber and to represent the people. Every day I am awed by the dedication and talent of many of my colleagues, public servants who come to work to fight for their States and their government.

To those who are ending their service in the Senate, know that I value your friendship and partnership. It has been an honor to work with you, and I thank you for all you have done for our Nation.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, once again, as is our tradition here in the Senate, we take a moment to express our appreciation for the service of those Members who will be retiring at the end of the year. We will miss them, their good ideas and thoughtful suggestions, and their concern and active involvement in the challenges facing our Nation in a number of areas.

It is hard to mention the word “service” and not have CARL LEVIN come to mind. As a former local official myself, I have a great deal of respect and regard for all those who have worked their way up from the local level to the Senate.

For CARL the great adventure of his political life began with his service on the Detroit City Council. During his 8 years on the council CARL probably had enough run-ins with the Federal bureaucracy that he decided he had to do something about it. For him that meant a run for the Senate.

CARL’s election and his subsequent service in the Senate have shown him to be quite an effective legislator and a force for the positions he has taken on a long list of issues. He has been a Member of the Senate since 1979 and he has hit a number of milestones since then that reflect the length and production of his service.

It is important to emphasize that CARL’s service in the Senate has never been about longevity, it has been about results. That is why he has been a part of so many issues that needed someone with his talents, skills, and abilities to help move them through. Such an issue has been his great support for our Nation’s military and our veterans.

CARL has been working for the benefit of those who have served in our Armed Forces since he first walked in the door of the Senate. Determined that they reap the benefits they have earned with their service, CARL joined the Armed Services Committee to ensure our military and our veterans were getting what they deserved and required both during and after their service.

That is one of the main reasons why he is currently serving as the chairman of our Armed Services Committee. He wanted to make a difference for those who were sacrificing so much to serve in our Nation’s military. I don’t think our service men and women—and our Nation’s veterans—have ever had a better friend than CARL LEVIN.

Now he is closing the chapter of this great adventure of his life. With his service he has made a difference in more ways than I could ever hope to mention in my brief remarks. In the process CARL has touched more lives for the better than

we will ever know with his commitment to the day-to-day issues that affect us all—like education, the environment, and health care. He has had an impact on his home State and our Nation that will be felt for a long time to come.

Thank you, CARL, for your service in the Senate. I know I join with the people of Michigan in expressing our appreciation to you for dedicating so much of your life to making our Nation a better place for us all to live. That is why your constituents have always been there to express their appreciation of your work here in the Senate with their votes. That is also why no other Senator has ever represented Michigan as long as you have.

Diana joins in sending our best wishes to you for all you have accomplished and for your close and personal attention to the needs of our Armed Forces and the concerns of our veterans. Thanks, too, for your friendship. We will miss you, but I am certain we will be in touch.

ORDER FOR PRINTING OF SENATE DOCUMENT

Mr. BENNET. I ask unanimous consent that the tributes to retiring Senators be printed as a Senate document and that Senators be permitted to submit tributes until December 23, 2014.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THURSDAY, *December 11, 2014*

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, once again, the Senate has an opportunity to consider the National Defense Authorization Act. This bill is named for the two retiring chairmen of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees, Senator CARL LEVIN and Congressman Buck McKeon. CARL LEVIN has been a fierce defender of Michigan, strong advocate for the men and women of our armed services, and a friend. When the Senate passes this bill, and the President signs it into law, it will be a fitting tribute to Senator LEVIN's storied legacy of public service. ...

FRIDAY, *December 12, 2014*

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, during his 36 years representing Michigan in the Senate, Senator CARL LEVIN's character and expertise have been described in many ways. He has been named by Time magazine as one of "America's 10 Best Senators." He has been hailed by our military as a leader on national security. He is recognized by families in Michigan and throughout our country as a dedicated champion for economic opportunity and fairness.

But perhaps the best description of Senator LEVIN's philosophy of public service is a word he himself used in an interview for the George Mitchell Oral History Project at Bowdoin College in Maine. That word is "fiduciary."

It is the word that embraces the concepts of trust and confidence, of ethics and responsibility. In that interview Senator LEVIN elaborated on what the word means to him as a public servant. He said it meant to be accessible and open, to listen to other points of view, and to be well informed. Then when it is time to decide, to use his best judgment and vote for what is best for his State and his country, even though it may not be the popular choice at the time.

"Fiduciary" may indeed be the best word to describe our colleague Senator LEVIN; but to me, based upon decades of firsthand experience, there is another phrase that also comes to mind. He is truly a Senator's Senator. My colleagues may be surprised to learn that I have known Senator LEVIN far longer than most of the Members of this Chamber. You see, when he was first elected to the Senate in 1978, the same year as Maine Senator Bill Cohen, for whom I was working at the time, both of them served on what was then known as a Senate Governmental Affairs Committee and also on the same subcommittee, Oversight of Government Management, for which I was first the minority staff director and then the majority staff director. So I have known and worked with Senator LEVIN for the entire time he has been a Member of this Chamber. From the very start, Senator LEVIN's diligence as a watchdog for the American people impressed me.

Ten years after I left the committee, I returned as Senator Cohen's successor and sought a seat on the Governmental Affairs Committee precisely because, thanks to the example of Senator LEVIN and Senator Cohen, I saw the importance of accountability in government and business practices. As the chairman of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investiga-

tions, it was my honor to begin my Senate service with Senator LEVIN as our ranking member, who was a far more experienced Senator than I was at the time.

So I have seen first hand how deeply Senator LEVIN cares about the Senate as an institution and its unique place in our Constitution and in its role in our system of government. He is a person of extraordinary integrity and has a sense of purpose that sets a high standard for all of us in public service.

He works well with Senators across the aisle because he works hard. From the very first time I saw Senator LEVIN in action back in 1978, I saw the importance that he placed on extensive, exhaustive preparation for our committee investigations and hearings. As many evasive or ill-prepared witnesses learned to their chagrin, the eyes behind those trademark reading glasses focused like a laser because he has always done his homework.

If Senator LEVIN were to be remembered for his contributions to just one area of policy, it would be our Nation's defense. He has been a member of the Armed Services Committee throughout his time in the Senate, including 10 years as both the chairman and the ranking member. During our work together on that committee, I saw his mastery of such complex matters as emerging global threats and advanced weapons systems. Above all, his focus has always been on the men and women in uniform and their families, from improving their standard of living to better caring for our wounded warriors.

As a fiduciary of the principles that are our Nation's foundation, CARL LEVIN has been a faithful trustee and truly a Senator's Senator. I cannot imagine this body without him, without his wisdom, his integrity, his insight. So I thank him for his years of extraordinary service, and I wish him all the best in the years to come.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, Senator CARL LEVIN has been my Senator for 36 years, and it has been one of the great honors of my life to serve for the last 14 years as his partner, as well as his friend, representing Michigan.

The year he was elected, "Grease" was the year's highest grossing movie and "Staying Alive" was music's biggest hit, and you should see Senator LEVIN dance. So Senator LEVIN has outlasted disco, the Soviet Union, and all six of the peo-

ple who challenged him in elections, including an astronaut. That is because integrity never goes out of style.

Senator LEVIN has never wavered in his devotion to Michigan and to his country. As we heard today and as we each know, he has brought that patriotism to the Armed Services Committee. No one has done more to ensure that our men and women in uniform are battle-ready, with the supplies and technology they need to be the best military in the world, than Senator CARL LEVIN, or to make sure they receive fair pay and full health benefits. CARL LEVIN puts his coalition together year after year to make that happen.

He has never lost faith in government's capacity to be a force for good, and we heard that again in his comments today. This was passed down to him from his parents, who saw how the New Deal rescued families from desperate poverty.

A young CARL LEVIN admired President Harry Truman—especially Truman, the Senator who drove cross country, stopping in cities where defense contractors were committing fraud and waste at the expense of America's wartime economy.

Truman himself would be very proud to see Senator LEVIN leading the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. As a former civil rights attorney, Senator LEVIN relished the chance to cross-examine those he suspected of dishonesty toward taxpayers and the American people. It is not literally a trial by fire, but that committee room has definitely become a sweat lodge for unscrupulous executives or anyone who has tried to get rich by getting one over on average Americans. They sweat because they know Senator LEVIN has done his homework—boy, has he done his homework. He digs so deep, he knows more about what they are going to say than they do.

David used a slingshot to bring down Goliath, but CARL LEVIN can topple a tycoon with nothing but a binder full of subpoenaed documents, and we have all seen him do it. In 2007 he shined a light on abusive practices of credit card companies, leading to laws that have brought about more transparency. Thanks to Senator CARL LEVIN, your credit card statement contains more disclosures so you know what is going on.

Those of us in Michigan also see a softer, gentler side. His heart is in Detroit, where he was born and raised and now lives with his wife Barbara. His soul is nourished by the tranquility he finds in northern Michigan in the Upper Pe-

ninsula—Isle Royale, a place to which he has made many trips.

If you have been to Detroit recently, you know the city is in the midst of a spectacular comeback. I believe it is the most spectacular comeback in modern history. Everywhere you look, you see evidence of Senator CARL LEVIN's hard work. He led the way on getting Federal funding for Detroit's International Riverfront, which is spectacular. He worked with me and others in leading the effort to secure critical funding for the M-1 Rail Project, championing that every step of the way—a streetcar that will inject even more vibrancy to the historic Woodward Avenue, which is already attracting scores of entrepreneurs and small businesses.

Five years ago I was proud to stand with Senator LEVIN as we passionately worked to rescue our American automobile industry and give them a chance to grow and move forward, and I saw his commitment and fiery passion for making sure we did not let them down, the men and women who worked so hard in Michigan and across the country. That revival has done so much to lift the economy of greater Detroit and all of Michigan.

Senator LEVIN knows that manufacturing is the backbone of our State's economy, but he also knows that the landscapes, the soil, and the water are all part of who we are, including our Great Lakes. It is in our DNA, and I know it is in his. That is why he has pushed for years to help Sleeping Bear Dunes be recognized as a national lakeshore, and we are seeing the outcome of his work as we look at this beautiful national resource. He fought for the Federal sanctuary at Thunder Bay and for the creation of the Keweenaw National Historic Park. It has been an honor for me to stand with him as he chaired our Great Lakes Task Force, our bipartisan task force, and fight for funding for the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative, which has had a miraculous effect on the quality of freshwater that is vital for Michigan and the Nation.

I could stand here for hours talking about his accomplishments, the footprints and handprints and marks he has made on Michigan and, most importantly, the people and communities of Michigan. But, as we heard this morning from colleagues and will continue to hear, they are small in comparison to the testament of his character, his compassion, his humor, and the unassailable strength of his convictions.

Senator LEVIN, you will be missed in Michigan and certainly by me and the Senate. I know you and Barbara and your daughters and grandchildren, including your one grandson—who is kind of outnumbered—will be grateful to have you so you can show them the world from your perspective and show them the continued beauty of Michigan. You have given so much, and we are grateful.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mrs. McCASKILL. Mr. President, I wish to talk about Senator LEVIN from a different perspective than my colleagues have. There is a seduction that goes on around here. You can get lulled into a false sense of security by excellent staff. CARL LEVIN is fortunate that he has excellent staff, but what many of us are tempted to do at times is to allow staff to do the arcane and tedious work of checking statutory language.

I have been blessed to have a front row seat to watch CARL LEVIN work. From my seat on the Armed Services Committee and on the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, I have not only watched his excellent staff, I have watched CARL LEVIN. This is a man who understands every nook and cranny of statutory construction. He would never be lulled into a false sense of security that he understood the bill just because of what he was told.

I will think of CARL LEVIN fondly in one way: his shoulders slightly stooped, his hand grasping a piece of paper, not an electronic device, him walking quickly toward me with his head down, peering over those ubiquitous glasses, saying, “Claire, have you read the language? Claire, have you read the language? Read the language. Read the language.”

He understands the hazards of a misplaced comma. He understands the danger of using an “and” instead of an “or.” He understands that the essence of our work is to make sure we craft language that lives up to our purpose and ideals.

CARL LEVIN is a Senator’s Senator. There are no sharp elbows, no heated rhetoric, and, frankly, there is no star power on cable television. No one is dying to get CARL in front of a camera because he will say something incendiary or pick a fight, which all of our friends are anxious for us to do—if we would only pick a fight.

CARL is methodically doing the grind-it-out work of legislating. He has the tools of a great Senator: intellect, integrity, good manners, and an unsurpassed work ethic. I will always call him my most important mentor in the Senate. He

has taught me more than I can ever say. I will try desperately to live up to the ideal he has set for all of us.

I thank the Presiding Officer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SESSIONS. I thank Senator McCaskill for her comments. We are talking about a Senator's Senator, a man who reads the language of the legislation and knows how to legislate.

I came here 18 years ago and have served on the Armed Services Committee that entire time, and my admiration and respect for CARL LEVIN has grown every year. It has grown because it is deserved. He is a remarkable leader. He never showboats and always wants to do the right thing. He serves his country first, and he runs a committee that is, in my mind, the best run committee—according to the ideals of the Republic of which we are a part—that exists in either Chamber today. It just works the way it is supposed to.

His subcommittees work. We have amendments in subcommittees that are disputed. If you don't like the result, you bring it to the full committee, and the full committee meets, and if it takes 2 full days, it takes 2 full days; everybody gets to bring up their amendments.

Senator LEVIN is always brilliantly able to solve differences through proper wording of the committee's legislation. As Claire suggested, he has an extraordinary lawyer's ability to get the right words and make the bill say what the committee wants it to say. I think that is special, and I am pleased to have been a part of it.

The Armed Services Committee authorizes one-half of the discretionary budget of the United States. It impacts the lives of men and women in harm's way right now. We need to get it right. It involves a lot of money and a lot of responsibility. It is a well run committee that sets an example for what we ought to see more of in the Senate.

There is a fairness about his work. Somehow we have always passed an authorization bill, and somehow it is almost always unanimous or very close to unanimous. There may be one or two issues that maybe should not have been tacked on to the bill that causes someone not to vote for it, but when it is over, normally every Member—Republican and Democrat—is satisfied with the ability to have their voice heard and their ideas put into the bill, if possible. But if you lose in subcommittee and you lose on the floor and you have had your say in both places, it kind of makes you feel like,

what more can I do? If the rest of the bill is OK, I will try to support it. These markups take time because we are dealing with a large portion of Federal funding.

Finally, I would like to say how much I appreciated the wisdom he shared with us as we dealt with the nuclear option—the so-called nuclear option that changed the rules of the Senate. Senator LEVIN, who is a lawyer's lawyer, said something that was very profound, and it was reflected again in his remarks today, and that is, if a majority can change the rules, there are no rules. If a majority can change the rules of the Senate at a given moment to overcome objections from the minority, then there are virtually no minority rights—you have a pure majoritarian body. I think that is what CARL was sharing with us in his brilliant speech that all of us ought to read.

I thank our chairman for the leadership he has given and for the courtesy he has shown to me and all our Members. I wish him great success in his future endeavors, and I hope he will continue to contribute his wisdom to the body politic.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, it has been summed up here, and I want the Senator from Michigan to hear what has been summarized so meaningfully by all of our colleagues, because this is the best of this institution in terms of how it performs. It has been embodied here in the public service of CARL LEVIN for 36 years. What we have heard from testimonies on both sides of the aisle is that because of how he has conducted himself as an individual and how he has conducted himself as a public servant and how he has conducted himself as a leader in this Senate is an example of exactly how this institution is supposed to function.

Isn't it rather symbolic that on the last couple of days of the session, the bill that will be passed is the bill Senator LEVIN has ushered through the Senate? He never broke tradition. He made sure the defense authorization bill was going to be passed by hammering out the differences with the House and shepherding it through the parliamentary process. It has happened every year because of his extraordinary leadership.

I will close simply by saying that because he is all of the things we have heard—the consummate gentleman, the humble public servant, his razor-sharp mind, and the best lawyer, by the way, in the entire Senate—because he is all

of those things, he also is the embodiment of a Senator because when he gives someone his word, that is it. A person does not have to worry anymore.

The future Senate should take a lesson from the life and the leadership of CARL LEVIN from Michigan.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. MANCHIN. Mr. President, I rise with honor and pleasure to be able to say thank you to my dear friend. I am the most junior Member, besides the Presiding Officer, in this body today. When I first came to the Senate, I asked to be on the Armed Services Committee. West Virginia has a proud heritage of an awful lot of people—percentagewise probably more than most States—having served in all of the branches of the military. So that is very near and dear to me, and our National Guard is very near and dear to our State. So there were many reasons why I wanted to be on the Armed Services Committee.

When I got here, it was one of the most toxic times of the political arena, if you will. It was not what I expected, to say the least. Seeing the toxic atmosphere that I came into, people would say it didn't used to be this way; it used to work. The process worked. The whole aura of the Senate was there, and we are losing that. That was their excuse for telling me that is why it is not working today, but it used to work.

Then I became part of this committee called the Armed Services Committee with this unbelievable chairman whose name is CARL LEVIN. I watched and observed. I didn't say a whole lot at first because freshmen aren't supposed to, but I watched and I learned and I saw the system the way I imagined it probably was 20, 30, 40 years ago when it did work. I saw the Senate, and I was thinking, Why can't the rest of the Senate work the way the Armed Services Committee works? There is one reason. We don't have enough CARL LEVINS. We just don't have enough CARL LEVINS.

CARL LEVIN is practical, reasonable, and sensible. It made sense to me what he would say.

Just recently I have had difficulties on a piece of legislation that is very important. CARL spoke to me in terms that my father would have spoken to me, and I understood very well: State your opposition, record your opposition, and look at the whole situation as the betterment and the good of the

bill, which is better than basically this piece that you oppose. He said I could explain my opposition.

CARL LEVIN would say this, too. He would say: "Listen, I can't tell you what to do. Really, you have to do what you think is right, but let me give you some points to think about." He has been an unbelievable mentor who will give us the ability to kind of process this whole system we are in.

Let me say this, CARL. I am sorry that I didn't have the honor and the opportunity and the pleasure to serve with you for many more years. I really am. Or I am sorry I didn't get here soon enough, whatever the case may be. But the Senator from Michigan has left an impression on me as to how this place should work.

Robert C. Byrd, my predecessor, felt as passionately as you do. There is a process here and there is a reason for the process, which is to make us talk to each other, to make this place work. There should never be a situation we would get into that is important to the American citizen or this country where we can't work it out and can't get at least 60 votes. There should never be a time that we cannot get 60 votes. If we do that, then basically just changing a rule is not going to change the attitude and the atmosphere we create. I believe very strongly in that. I appreciate the Senator's fight.

In the hills of West Virginia, we have a saying: "They are good people." You meet somebody and someone says, "They are good people."

CARL, you are good people. Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, one of the great honors of serving in the U.S. Senate—and it is a great honor to serve in this body—is the fact that I have had the opportunity to serve with CARL LEVIN. I think Senator LEVIN represents the very best of our political system, the very best of the U.S. Senate, and why I am so proud to be a part of this institution.

I must tell my colleagues I came from the House of Representatives and I had the great pleasure to have as one of my closest friends in the House of Representatives CARL's brother, Sandy. Sandy is an incredibly talented person who believes in public service, as does his brother CARL. The two of them have devoted their family reputation to public service, and they have given so much back.

CARL, what you have done for our national security, for our national defense, the type of attention you have paid to

make sure this country is as well prepared as it needs to be, you have done that in an exemplary way. I can tell you what you have done for the people in Michigan, the type of Senator you have been. You have been a great U.S. Senator for your State, as well as a great U.S. Senator for the United States. That is not always an easy balance, but you have been able to do it.

As so many colleagues have said, when we seek advice, when we need a Senator to help us understand something, we go to CARL LEVIN. Some of my constituents have a hard time believing that we read the bills around here. CARL LEVIN reads the bills around here. He has found typographical errors in some of my legislation. He has found ways to correct us when we didn't express ourselves the way we should have. He writes me notes all the time. I thank him for that dedication.

As several of our colleagues have pointed out, there is no one here who has a greater love for the traditions—the best traditions—of the U.S. Senate, a Senate that debates and respects each other. One of the great opportunities I had was to sit in a room with Lamar Alexander and CARL LEVIN and others and talk about that, and how we could restore the best traditions of the U.S. Senate.

So, Senator LEVIN, I want you to know, I will always be indebted to serving in this body with you, learning from you, and recognizing just what one person can do to carry out the honor and dignity of public service. You really define public service. For that, I am very grateful, the people of Michigan are grateful, and the people of America are grateful. Congratulations on your great service.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, it is no surprise to any of us that the first thing CARL LEVIN did when he spoke today was thank his staff. He thanked them, and then he thanked the police force and the groundskeepers and the food service people and the people who too many in this world ignore. That was the first thing he did.

The second thing CARL did in his address was to talk about the gulf between the fortunate few and the struggling many. That has been what I most admire about CARL LEVIN—that he is always aware of that and always fighting the fight for people who have a lot less privilege than those of us do who dress like this and get really great titles. No one, frankly—no one in this body—has stood up against spe-

cial interests for the most powerful interests in this town more effectively and more energetically than CARL LEVIN. For that, I am grateful, and I know so many in this country are grateful as well.

Thank you, Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, when I came here in 2009, we were in the middle of an enormous meltdown due to high-risk trading inside our major banks. I wondered whether we as an institution were capable of undertaking this challenge of changing the circumstances around that in order to not have another 2007, 2008 meltdown that would do so much damage to families across this country. So I put out an email to everyone that said, Is anyone interested in taking on this issue for the future stability of our financial system? The next day I came to the floor and Senator LEVIN said, "the email you sent out, I want to talk to you about that. I want to partner in taking this on." Immediately, he basically said: "We will work together. I am not the senior Senator who wants to take over this effort," although I would have been glad for that to happen. There was not the ego in it; there was the intellect and the passion and the determination to fix a problem. To me, the Senate should be about people coming together to fix problems to make this Nation work better.

That event is deeply burned into my mind. The result, because of Senator LEVIN's efforts, was the Volcker rule that said high-risk trading should not be done on the banks' books, proprietary trading, and high-risk instruments. It will make a significant difference in the years to come.

But what I want to thank my colleague for is the attitude of coming together to solve the important problems for America, even if that means taking on very powerful special interests. I hope we will see a lot more of that from this Senate in the years to come, but it will be a much bigger challenge without the Senator here. We will miss him greatly.

Thank you so much, Senator, for your service to our Nation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, the Senate at its best has been said to be the one authentic piece of genius in the American political system. CARL LEVIN is the Senate at its best. I thank him for his courtesy, his decency, his scholar-

ship, and his sense of public service. I thank him for his reminder that if we are going to have the trust of the American people to write rules for them, we should follow our own rules.

It has been a privilege to serve with Senator LEVIN.
Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I too want to spend a couple of moments reflecting upon my long friendship and association with Senator CARL LEVIN from Michigan.

Much has been said this morning about CARL the person and the Senator. Let me say this: I don't know of anyone in this body who has exhibited more of an intellectual honesty, a calm demeanor, and a sense of fierce loyalty and perseverance. I don't know who exhibits those qualities more than CARL LEVIN.

CARL embodies the best of what I think it means to be both a citizen and a U.S. Senator. Barbara and CARL, Ruth and I have enjoyed many meals together over the years, having great conversations about everything. I want to say to my friend CARL, I hope that Michigan and Iowa are not so far apart, and that we can continue to get together in the future.

I will say, CARL, right now I hope you don't hold it against me for all of the times the Hawkeyes will beat the Wolverines in the future. Don't let that be a stumbling block.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Brown). The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I will be very brief because I know we have some other things coming up before going on to the NDAA, and I will be standing here with my good friend and brother CARL at that time. I recall when I was first elected to the House of Representatives—it is hard for me to believe that was 28 years ago—and I became good friends with a guy named LEVIN. It was not CARL. It was his brother. There was a real sincere, lovable attitude about him. I can remember sitting by him during some of the debate on very partisan things. I thought this guy is really neat. It is the kind of thing where you can't dislike him. Then I came over here 20 years ago. I have two major committees, Environment and Public Works and the Senate Armed Services Committee. I thought this is remarkable be-

cause while on occasion we will differ—I am talking about the chairman and me—and I am the ranking member of that committee—occasionally we will come up on an issue where we don't agree. On two occasions, last year and this year, we had to go into this process of the “big four.” That is where it gets contentious because at that point you have to come up with a bill. There was never a time that, yes, we have to give in. I don't know whether he gave in more than I gave in. But whatever it was, it all had to happen and it did happen and it happened because of CARL more than me.

Chairman LEVIN and I can both say the same thing, and people will hate me and they love him. I always wonder how you get by with doing that, but you do. He is a lovable guy whom I will sincerely miss as well as our relationship, and I hope you will be back often so you can be here to remind other people what a real statesman is.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SANDERS. I want to take a moment to thank CARL LEVIN for his friendship. It has been previously noted that CARL is recognized as having perhaps the greatest intellect in the Senate. CARL has been, for so many years, a forceful fighter against waste in the military, and in recent years he has led the Senate in telling us it is absurd that large multinational corporations are able to avoid hundreds of billions of dollars in taxes by storing their money in offshore tax savings.

He has been a leader on that and for those of us who are concerned about the needs of our kids and elderly and infrastructure, all of the terrible problems facing this country, these are issues we have to focus on.

I think Senator CARL LEVIN has been a Senator's Senator. He has been a model of what a good Senator should be, and it is not surprising that people from all political persuasions will come to the floor to thank him for his service.

Senator LEVIN, thank you very much for your time.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. FRANKEN. I want to echo what everyone has said. I had the honor of traveling on a codel with Chairman LEVIN to Pakistan, Afghanistan, when I had been here just a few weeks. So I was traveling with the chairman of the Armed Services Committee. The respect he got from everyone—from

the generals down to the privates, especially in Afghanistan—was remarkable. CARL fought to increase the ratio of our troops to contractors. When we took the majority back in 2006, CARL started doing the kind of oversight of the contracting that had led to a lot of waste, fraud, and abuse in Iraq. He has used PSI in the way it was intended by Harry Truman. I thank him especially for the work he did on the credit rating agencies, Wall Street credit rating agencies. Right now Standard & Poor's is being prosecuted by—or sued by the DOJ for about \$5 billion. Part of what they are using are emails the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations obtained, in which basically the credit rating agencies internally were saying we better give this a AAA rating; otherwise, we are going to lose our business. That in no small way led to the meltdown we had because all this junk was getting AAAs and those were bets on bets on bets on bets and that is what led to the meltdown.

CARL always seems to go to where that kind of top-down fraud or malfeasance is going. When Sherrod talked about the disparities and how this is rigged very often from the top down, he was talking about the offshoring and the work the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations did—that is, on tax havens on inversions—and I hope to take that up as CARL leaves.

CARL leaves a lot of unfinished business. Everything that has been said is who CARL is. Everyone should know that. One thing that has not been said is hamisha. CARL, you are one of the most hamish men I have ever known. Thank you.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine is recognized.

Mr. KING. I wanted to speak very briefly, because as Senator Manchin pointed out, I am the most junior person in the place.

I want to say a couple of things about CARL LEVIN. As has been said here repeatedly, CARL is a man of immense intellect and character, and I wanted to explain how that came to be. I thought that would be important to lay on the Record.

It came to be because CARL LEVIN and his brother spent their boyhood summers in the State of Maine. That imparts character to anyone who is lucky enough to have that experience.

Also, I want to mention—because it has been mentioned several times—about the travel. I had the great good fortune to travel after having been here about 6 months. CARL and I—as members of the Armed Services Committee—went to Turkey and Jordan to try to get some insight into the situation in Syria. My only advice to anyone in this body is if you are ever invited to travel with CARL LEVIN, spend the prior 2 or 3 months in the gym. I have never been so exhausted in my life, and we would be at 10 p.m., after all-day meetings and touring of refugee sites, and CARL would say, “Can’t we have another meeting? Isn’t there someone else we can talk to?” His absolute passion for information and data upon which to make decisions is I think exemplary.

The final thing I want to note is—and it has been talked about how he is a Senator’s Senator, which is certainly true. My observation and in fact my experience this year in the markup of the National Defense Authorization Act is the highlight of my experience in this body. The reason it is, is because it worked like it is supposed to work. We had 2 days of markup. They were about 10-hour days, as I recall. There were over 200 amendments. Through CARL’s leadership, most of those amendments were compromised and worked out between the parties and between the individuals who were moving the amendments, but we ended up with about 20 we couldn’t resolve in that way. I was so struck by this. I went back and looked at the record of that markup. Of the 20 amendments that were voted on in the committee, not a single one of those amendments was decided on a party-line vote. There were votes of 13 to 12 or 16 to 4 or whatever the vote was but not a single party-line vote. I think that in itself is an extraordinary achievement in a body that is often driven by partisan divisions. I think it is attributable in large measure to CARL LEVIN’s leadership.

Everybody had their say. Everybody had their opportunity to put their thoughts forward. Everybody had an opportunity to get a vote if they felt that was necessary. Of course, in the end, the bill came out of the committee—I think it was 25 to 1—and that is what legislating is supposed to be all about. That is a lesson for us because people felt they got their amendments, they got their discussion, they got their ideas out. Even if they weren’t successful, at the end, they voted for the bill because they were invested in the process. That is what I learned from this man who I think has been an inspiration for those of us who are coming along behind. Again, I am so honored. One of the great joys of my life has been

to serve with you for 2 years. One of the great sadnesses of my life is it is only 2 years, but I deeply appreciate what you have done for this body and for the United States of America.

Mr. LEVIN. Thank you.

Mr. KING. Bless you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The senior Senator from New York.

Mr. SCHUMER. My good friend from Iowa is waiting patiently, so I will curtail my remarks. I would like to say to my dear friend CARL—whom we will all miss—if we had to put a headline on what is happening today, it is: “Mr. Integrity Retires from the Senate.”

There is no one in this body on either side of the aisle whose integrity is more respected than yours. At these times in America, where people have such distrust of government and elected officials, to have somebody who is so widely trusted by his constituency and by the Members of this body who have worked with him closely over the years on both sides of the aisle is a real tribute. You are Mr. Integrity. That is one of many reasons we will miss you.

Again, I have more to say, but in deference to my dear friend from Iowa, who I see is ready to roll, I will yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. PORTMAN. I will be brief as well and say that I am going to miss my colleague, and I told him that personally. I want to share a couple of reasons. One, as a new Member on the other side of the aisle, when I first got here, CARL—whom I had gotten to know a little bit through his brother, whom I see is on the floor today, whom has fought many fights with him on the squash court, but they remain dear friends. He came to me and said, “You ought to join the Auto Caucus.” I am not a big caucus guy. Most caucuses don’t do much in this place, and then I saw what he was doing with the Auto Caucus and he agreed to allow me come on as co-chair. We had an opportunity to help fight for the auto-workers in Michigan and Ohio and around the country and make sure that the renaissance of the auto industry is sustained. As I am sure has been said by many here today, he went out of his way to make it not just bipartisan but non-partisan. He does his homework.

We share some committee assignments. We don't always agree. Sometimes we disagree on fundamental issues. He is always prepared and does his homework and has the best of intentions. That says a lot for him and the reason he is viewed as such a leader of the Senate. When I got here, I was honored to serve on the Armed Services Committee. There we were able to work together on a number of projects, including ones that frankly he may not have normally thought were priorities but because I was a new Member and interested in helping my State and on specific projects, he stood up for me. I will not forget that. We have done legislation together and had the opportunity to work together on important projects that have to do with the Great Lakes, including Great Lakes restoration, where he has been a nonpartisan partner. I join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle and say this is one of those giants of the Senate who will be missed.

Although I have only been here for 4 of his many years of service, I was privileged to serve with him.

I yield the floor.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I wish to pay tribute to the senior Senator from Michigan, CARL LEVIN. I have known CARL for many years and am grateful for his friendship. Throughout his career, CARL has always put the needs of Michigan and this Nation above his own.

Senator LEVIN was born in Detroit in 1934 and has called Michigan his home nearly his entire life. As a young man, he left only briefly to attend Swarthmore College and later Harvard Law School. After passing the Michigan Bar, CARL worked for 5 years in private practice in Detroit before beginning his career in public service. He first served as general counsel for the Michigan Civil Rights Commission from 1964 to 1967. CARL then entered elected office, serving on the Detroit City Council from 1969 to 1977.

In 1978, Senator LEVIN successfully ran for a U.S. Senate seat and has never looked back. He has since won five more elections to become the longest serving Senator in Michigan history. CARL chaired the Armed Services Committee from 2001 to 2003 and again from 2007 to the present. Whether it was pushing for higher pay or ensuring that our veterans received proper medical treatment, CARL has always made sure that our soldiers and their families were well taken care of.

Senator LEVIN has also served as chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. He has never

had any patience for corruption or abuse, and so has been perfectly suited for this job. As chairman, CARL launched numerous investigations into high-profile issues, including the Enron scandal and abusive credit card practices. The findings of these investigations were crucial in helping us draft legislation to prevent future abuses.

Mr. President, Senator LEVIN has dedicated his life to public service, and his retirement is well deserved. He is an honest man who has served his country well. I wish him, his wife Barbara, and their family the very best.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. King). The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. I know that Senator Harkin is waiting to speak. Senator Harkin is truly one of the greatest Senators I have ever served with and Senator Harkin is one of the greatest people I have ever known. He, Ruth, Barb, and I have spent quality time, which is not always true for many of us in the Senate to have that opportunity.

I thank everyone. The words have meant so much to me and my family today.

I am going to join my family now. I know Tom will forgive me for not listening, but I will be reading what you say. You, Ruth, Barb, and I will have some more quality time together—perhaps not as much fun as being in the Senate, but we will make the best of it.

I yield the floor.

Ms. AYOTTE. ... I also want to take the opportunity to thank Senator LEVIN, who is retiring this year, for being an incredible chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. I have to say this has been one of the best experiences I have had since I have gotten to the Senate. I have been here for 4 years, and Senator LEVIN has conducted this committee and treated everyone with respect. He has gotten us all to work together, where almost every year we passed out the defense authorization almost unanimously—how often does that happen—and most times unanimously in a divided Congress.

I wish Senator LEVIN the best, because he has been so knowledgeable and so committed to ensuring that our Nation is safe and committed to our men and women in uniform.

On a personal note, he has been so respectful to me and has been someone who has run the committee so very well and has served our country with such dignity and such dedication. I wish he and his wife Barbara the best in the future.

He is someone whom this body will miss. Certainly as the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, he has treated everyone on both sides of the aisle with incredible respect and given us opportunities to raise issues that are important to us. I think he is a model of how we should conduct ourselves. We can disagree with each other but still find common ground where we can work together to get things done for the American people. . . .

Mr. WYDEN. Madam President, I want to take a few minutes today to speak on the National Defense Authorization Act, the annual policy bill for the Department of Defense. Let me start by noting that Senator CARL LEVIN, who is chairman of the committee that puts this agreement together, will be retiring after this year. This bill carries Senator LEVIN's name on it in what I think will be a fitting tribute to his legacy here. I have appreciated his wisdom on so many issues over the years, and I know I am in good company when I say to Senator LEVIN that his leadership will be missed in the U.S. Senate. . . .

Mr. INHOFE. Madam President, it is just about time for the vote. I want to mention something which hasn't been mentioned.

We have two really great Americans, one serving in the House and one serving in the Senate. We have been talking about Chairman LEVIN and how fair and open he has been. I think there is not a person of the 100 Members of the Senate who doesn't agree with that.

At the same time, we have Buck McKeon over in the House of Representatives. He is the chairman of the House committee that is equivalent to the committee CARL LEVIN chairs here. He also is retiring, and he has served for quite some time—not as long as Senator LEVIN.

Against their objections, we have named this bill the Carl Levin-Buck McKeon bill, so I want to make sure everyone recognizes that proper tribute has been made to the long hours and years and the hard work they have contributed.

This guy over here to my left has been through 16 of these. He has been working about 36 years, and I want to say he is deserving of that recognition. . . .

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I will now speak very briefly about my retiring colleagues and then turn it over to the Senator from Florida [Mr. Nelson]. I promise I will be brief.

Everybody will face retirement, voluntarily or involuntarily. There will be a last vote to cast and a last speech to

make. Only God knows when that day comes because we are all just one car wreck away from ending our careers.

To the retiring Members, I have had the pleasure of serving with you, and I know you all. You did what you thought was best for our country and your State, and what more could anyone ask? My good friend Mark Pryor, who tried to find common ground at a time when it is hard to find. Mary Landrieu, who would drill under the Capitol if she thought it would help American energy independence. We have good friends on the other side, and I will miss you, and I wish you well. But I would like very briefly to speak about four. . . .

The last person is CARL LEVIN. If I had to describe to somebody from a foreign country what a good Senator was like, I would pick CARL. CARL understands the details of the government—very studious. He was the chairman of the Armed Services Committee and ran it very evenhandedly. He had a disposition that I don't know how he held on to in these fractious times, but he was a gentleman.

I can promise you, working with CARL LEVIN, we both resisted the temptation to go down some very dangerous roads on this detainee contentious issue. All I can tell the men and women in uniform and the people of Michigan is that you never had a better friend.

To all of you, Godspeed. I wish you nothing but the best.

I am fortunate enough to go into my third term. To my colleagues, as we go into the next Congress, let's try to do better. I know we can. If we do, all boats will rise.

I yield the floor.

Mr. CASEY. Madam President, I wanted to speak today about Senator CARL LEVIN and his years of service to the Senate and the people of Michigan. Senator LEVIN has served 36 years and is Michigan's longest serving Senator.

John F. Kennedy once said that "leadership and learning are indispensable to each other." Senator LEVIN's time here has been an illustration of that statement, and I have experienced this first hand ever since I arrived in the Senate in 2007 and sought his guidance on difficult issues like the war in Iraq. He is one of the best informed and knowledgeable Members of the Senate.

CARL LEVIN has been a leader for years on the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Senator LEVIN has served as the Democratic leader of the Armed Services Committee since 1997, a term that overlapped with several defining events for U.S. national security, including the terrorist at-

tacks on September 11, 2001, the beginnings of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the operation against Osama bin Laden and the current conflict against the terrorist group ISIS. Chairman LEVIN has guided our caucus through the National Defense Authorization Act process every year, working to ensure Members have an opportunity to include their priority issues in the bill. I am grateful for Senator LEVIN's support of my efforts to ensure Afghan women and girls remain at the forefront of our Afghanistan policy through this transition period. One of Senator LEVIN's most important legacies will be his thoughtful and principled opposition to shifting attention away from the fight against Al Qaeda in Afghanistan to Iraq. Our caucus will miss CARL LEVIN's steady hand guiding us through these important matters.

At the helm of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Senator LEVIN has led the charge against some of the worst abuse and corruption occurring in our country. Under Senator LEVIN's leadership the subcommittee conducted an 18-month investigation into the causes of the financial crisis that culminated in four hearings in April 2010. The hearings brought forth information that helped craft the Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2010. He also led an investigation into abusive and unfair practices of the credit card industry, which would lead to the Credit Card Accountability Responsibility and Disclosure Act, along with investigations into tax shelters, offshore tax havens and Federal contractor tax delinquency, among other issues. In 2012, the National Journal wrote that "the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations is one of the few institutions in Congress that's still working. CARL LEVIN is a big reason why."

CARL LEVIN's legacy can be summed up in one word: integrity. His commitment to our security and our service-members is incomparable. We wish him well as he returns to Michigan and moves on to new challenges and I thank him for his service.

MONDAY, *December 15, 2014*

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, on first glance, one might not think that Michigan and Vermont share much in common. But to delve deeper is to see that both States have deep roots in their rural populations, strong agricultural bases, and stunning natural landscapes. Senator CARL LEVIN has

represented the people of Michigan in the U.S. Senate since 1979. He is one of this Chamber's most senior Members and one of the longest serving Senators in history. He has cast more than 12,500 votes on behalf of his constituents.

Senator LEVIN has worked to ensure that the lakes of Michigan will be clean and safe for generations of Michigan residents to come. He has sponsored legislation to protect and restore the Great Lakes and their abundant wildlife habitats, secured millions to bring Michigan's lakes back to their natural pristine glory, and backed the Great Lakes Fishery Commission, which has supported the Great Lakes, Lake Champlain, and international waterways.

As chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senator LEVIN has been a powerful force in crafting our Nation's defense policy, particularly in the post-9/11 era. The battlefield has been vast, and his support of our troops has never wavered. He has consistently worked to ensure that the brave men and women serving in uniform have the support they need to keep our Nation and our allies safe. He and I shared reservations about launching a war in Iraq, reservations that have proven sound.

I was particularly moved by Senator LEVIN's strong support—and steadfast leadership—in advancing the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crime Prevention Act. That measure ultimately became law in 2009, in large part to Senator LEVIN's commitment to ensuring its inclusion in the National Defense Authorization Act. This Federal hate crimes law took years to achieve. At a time when it may have been easier to push a final vote down the road, Senator LEVIN worked with me to ensure that it was considered by the Senate and then upheld through a conference committee. This alone would be a remarkable achievement, but Senator LEVIN's Senate career boasts many achievements.

I have also been honored to work with Senator LEVIN to reaffirm our Nation's commitments to those citizens of the world who, persecuted, oppressed, and stateless, look to our country for protection. He has been a voice on behalf of displaced Iraqis and Syrians, and a dependable cosponsor of my Refugee Protection Act.

From protecting America's waters to crafting America's actions abroad, Senator LEVIN has been a powerful and invaluable presence in the Senate. He heads now into retirement, where I know he and Barbara will enjoy spending time with their three wonderful daughters and beautiful grandchildren.

Marcelle and I wish him and Barbara the very best in this new chapter. I will miss him.

TUESDAY, *December 16, 2014*

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, as we wind down the final days of the 113th Congress, it is a good time both to reflect on the past and to look toward the future. I have been very moved as I listened to the farewell speeches of our departing Senators, and I wish I had time to pay tribute to each one of them. They have all been wonderful colleagues, and I enjoyed working with and getting to know every one of them. I wish them all the very best in all their future endeavors. They will most certainly be missed. . . .

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, I wish to honor Senator CARL LEVIN as he prepares to retire after 36 years of dedicated service in the Senate.

As the longest serving Senator in Michigan's history, Senator LEVIN has been a stalwart advocate for the people of his State. In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, Senator LEVIN played a critical role in drafting the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act to ensure it would bolster the Midwestern manufacturers that would prove integral to our national economic recovery. As cochair of the Great Lakes Task Force, Senator LEVIN has worked throughout his career to protect the vast waterways that are critical to Michigan's economy and those of the other Great Lakes States.

I have had the honor of serving on the Senate Armed Services Committee under the leadership of Chairman LEVIN, and his concern for the people of Michigan is perhaps only matched by his concern for the soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen who defend our Nation, as well as the families who support them. Under his steady leadership the Senate has kept faith with our military by passing the annual National Defense Authorization Act, and this year's defense bill bears Senator LEVIN's name as tribute to his lengthy service on the committee. As chair of the Armed Services Subcommittee on Readiness and Management Support, I have always appreciated Senator LEVIN's commitment to a strong bipartisan spirit in the work of the committee, and I know it will endure thanks to his example.

A sharp legal mind, Senator LEVIN also worked in a bipartisan fashion as chairman of the Senate Permanent Sub-

committee on Investigations to hold powerful public and private institutions accountable. Born from the highly successful Truman committee formed in the lead up to World War II, Senator LEVIN's subcommittee investigated critical issues such as the 2008 financial crisis, systemic credit card fraud, as well as corporate abuse of offshore tax havens—bringing light to complex and obscure issues to the benefit of the American people.

Senator LEVIN has been a source of reasoned counsel for many in the Senate, and I know his presence will be missed. However, I also know he is looking forward to spending some well-earned time back in Michigan with his children, grandchildren, and wife Barbara.

Ms. HIRONO. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to pay tribute to Senator LEVIN as his distinguished Senate career comes to a close at the end of the 113th Congress. Senator LEVIN has proudly represented the people of Michigan in the Senate for 36 years.

The desire to help others has been in Senator LEVIN's makeup long before coming to Washington. In fact, one might say it is in his DNA. He comes from a family with a distinguished record of public service. I served with his brother Sander in the House of Representatives, another truly distinguished Member of Congress. Their father served on the Michigan Corrections Commission. His uncle served as a chief judge on the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan, and his cousin was a Michigan Supreme Court judge.

Given this public service pedigree, it is no surprise that he got started in politics at an early age. He was elected class president at Detroit's Central High School. After Swarthmore College and Harvard Law School, he served as an assistant attorney general and general counsel of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission. In 1969 he was elected to the Detroit City Council and in 1979 joined the Senate.

Senator LEVIN has served on the Armed Services Committee for as long as he has been in the Senate. His Armed Services Committee tenure has provided him the opportunity to work with 11 Secretaries of Defense, helping to ensure that our Armed Forces were ready and able to meet the national security challenges facing our Nation. He has long been a champion of the men and women of our military and their families. From visiting deployed troops far from home, to ensuring much needed training, equipment, and pay in-

creases, and improving the delivery of benefits and services they have earned, CARL LEVIN has been there for our troops.

Senator LEVIN is also a problem-solver. In order to improve the way the Pentagon buys its weapons and to get the most out of the taxpayer dollars the government is entrusted to spend, he has worked hard to improve acquisition practices throughout his career. In this arena, he led the way in passing the Competition in Contracting Act and the Weapons System Acquisition Reform Act.

I was fortunate to serve on the Armed Services Committee during my first 2 years in the Senate. I have been able to observe Chairman LEVIN first hand as he led the committee with a steady hand in a very bipartisan manner. I have been proud to be part of two National Defense Authorization Acts—including the one this body passed last week, which bears his name—which preserve our readiness and provides for the well-being of our men and women of the armed services and their families.

Senator LEVIN also chairs the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, where he has led investigations in many critical areas, including the 2008 financial crisis, energy and food market speculation, abusive offshore tax havens, and unfair practices within the credit card industry. His investigations have led to many reforms and laws to fix these problems. In 2012, the National Journal wrote that “the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations is one of the few institutions in Congress that’s still working. CARL LEVIN is a big reason why.”

The Senate is losing one of its giants—a voice of reason, integrity, and fairness. Michigan’s working families are losing a lifelong advocate for their best interests who has really made a difference. CARL, thank you for your service to our country. I wish you, Barbara, and your entire family all the best as you move to the next chapter of your journey.

Aloha CARL, a hui hou, “until we meet again.”

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I wish to celebrate and thank the 13 outgoing Senators who have worked tirelessly to represent their home States in the Senate: Senator Mark Begich, Senator Saxby Chambliss, Senator Tom Coburn, Senator Kay Hagan, Senator Tom Harkin, Senator Mike Johanns, Senator Tim Johnson, Senator Mary Landrieu, Senator CARL LEVIN, Senator Mark Pryor, Senator Jay Rockefeller, Senator Mark Udall, and Senator John Walsh.

I have worked side by side with these men and women for years—some for decades—and witnessed first hand their ex-

traordinary commitment to public service and to the people they so proudly represent.

Even when we didn't see eye to eye on every issue, I always deeply respected and admired their service to our Nation and their dedication to fight for what they believe in.

It has been a privilege to serve alongside each and every one of these extraordinary colleagues. I will miss their leadership and their friendship, and I wish them all the best as they embark on the next chapter.

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